

National Republican

W. J. MURPHY, Proprietor.

Subscription Rates.

Daily (except on Sundays, holidays and days of mourning), in advance, \$1.00 per month; in arrears, \$2.00 per month; for three months, \$5.00; for six months, \$9.00; for a year, \$16.00.

Advertising Rates.

Light, white, shifting to the right and left, and all other advertising, on editorial page, 10 cents per line; on other pages, 15 cents per line; for a year, \$1.50 per line; for a year, \$1.50 per line.

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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE DUAL GOVERNMENT.

The source of free government is the people; and when a government of the people, in form, ceases to be such in fact, it has no longer rightful authority, and rules, if at all, as a despotism. It is not the principle, but the practice, of government that constitutes oppression, and the best government on earth, erected and operated over the heads of an unwilling people, is, in practice, the veriest tyranny. What can be more at variance with the principle of republican government than a system of taxation and police regulation sustained by men who neither own the property to be taxed nor constitute the society to be affected by the laws enacted and enforced? And what imaginable creation can be more repugnant to a proud people than a government maintained by persons foreign to their soil and strangers to their law? Let any citizen of a free state answer. Ireland, Hungary, and Poland are familiar instances of such governments, and their peoples have the sympathy of the world. And yet these governments are rendered tolerable to the philosophic mind, by being the creatures of conquerors, whose powers are rightful by common consent. In such instances of oppression men bear their necks to the yoke as a dispensation of fate, without even asserting the right to question its justice. But where a people are nominally free, inhabiting a State controlled by their fathers for generations, and belonging to a confederation of States known and recognized as the freest among men, but who are nevertheless governed by aliens supported by a servile race in their midst, what shall be said of them? Let those enjoying true liberty, reply.

And yet this is the character of government existing in a number of the States of the South, and seen in their true light by the whole people of the United States. They proceed from a sort of military despotism in those States at the close of the war, which, as a nucleus of strength, for a time drew to it a native element recently released from bondage, and, therefore, supposing itself the natural enemy of its former owner. For more than a decade this fusion has controlled the destinies of the States it dominates, and until now has been able to hold out against every effort on the part of the original inhabitants to obtain release from its thralldom. But fortunately for them, learning wisdom by sad experience, the property-holders of the South have discovered a way out of the toils. It is no other than to enlist the sympathy of the former slave in their behalf, thus making the freedman the instrumentality of their own liberation. Forming an alliance of this sort, the united natives now appear to be in strong array against the authors of the hated governments, and, it is believed, but for the aid of the General Government, they must give way. And the question is, shall they have such aid, or shall they be left to themselves to be sustained or starved, as the people affected by them shall elect? There can be no doubt but that the great majority of the party which will administer the Government for the coming four years is convinced that whatever reasons have heretofore existed for sustaining these governments, they exist no longer, and that the people of those States should hereafter be accorded the privilege of untrammelled self-government. The progress of re-union among the people has been confessedly retarded by these creatures of contention, and the prevailing sentiment is that they shall stand in the way of reconciliation no longer. But there is no thought of violence in the suggestion. On the contrary, the feeling is that peace should be maintained between the contending parties, leaving the strongest to win by its hold upon the people. Nor will there be in this any abandonment of party friends by the Administration, which is not demanded by every interest of the country, and by the spirit of the laws; for certainly no one will contend that any possible good can result from further exasperating the Southern people by forcing them to submit to these governments, or that it is constitutionally within the Federal power to uphold a State government against the will of its people. Nor will such a course involve the inconsistency on the part of the Administration of claiming its own choice in the States having dual governments while it seemingly admits the defeat of the State tickets therein. Such a question is not involved in any form. Supposing those governments had been erected by the action of all the people in those States, would that fact justify the President in interfering to prevent the people, by peaceable means, from compelling them to abdicate? Certainly not. It is a matter wholly within the province of those States. If by their own folly or misfortune they have two Governments claiming authority, it is for them to determine which one they will recognize and sustain, and no other power or authority in the country is at liberty to take part in the matter, except as a friendly adviser. Hence, it is not at all necessary that Hayes shall sustain these governments, or confess his own is usurpation, as many have asserted. He has simply to remain neutral, and he has no authority, under the Constitution, to do anything else.

In conclusion, we are pleased to see that our view of the policy as well as of the duty of the next Administration, and all future Administrations, is in unison with those of the present Executive of the Nation in regard to the rights of the States and of the relation which the General Government bears to them. If he is correctly reported, we are in strict harmony; and we believe there will be found to be the same accord between his views and those of his successor.

DELIBERATIONS OF THE COMMISSION.
The objections filed against the counting of the votes of the Hayes electors in South Carolina have all been passed upon directly or collaterally in the cases which have preceded, and they are, therefore, frivolous, under the rule of the courts, and not entitled to be orally argued. The best evidence that the Commission does not regard itself as clothed with judicial powers, but only as representing the authority of Congress, is that it tolerates a continuous interposition of pleas which, were it a Court, would be *res judicata* by repeated rulings. No judicial body would allow its time to be occupied by counsel in the discussion of matters clearly settled by antecedent decisions, and which both judges and advocates must feel are entitled to no further consideration, at the very moment of the hearing. Yet, in the greater part, this has been the condition of questions dealt with by the Commission since the disposition of the Florida case; and its judgments have been left open to attack in consequence of this course of procedure, which, had such indulgence been refused, would not have been possible. In that case the decision was, in effect, that it was not competent to go behind the Governor's certificate where found to be based upon the official returns of the votes cast at the election.

Now, in logic, it is clear that the negative finding in this case, is equivalent to an affirmative finding in a case where the Governor's certificate was not founded upon the official returns; and that, in reality, the Oregon case was just as effectually disposed of, on that point, when that decision was rendered, as it was, after hours of argument and final determination in the case presenting the affirmative of the proposition. If it was not competent to go behind a certificate thus supported, it is plain that it was competent to go behind one not so sustained. So to all well informed persons the whole question was put at rest and out of the way by the negative conclusion at first given; and its further consideration in argument only served to mislead the unthinking public, and to enable demagogues to create the impression that the Commission was inconsistent in its decisions, and shaped them for partisan effect. If, when it was proposed to debate the question further in the Oregon case, the Commission had declined to continue time with it, there would have been no misapprehension as to its merits. But when it was afterwards made the subject of grave deliberation, and the Commission permitted it to be seriously argued in its presence, that they had decided against going behind the Governor's certificate in one case, and were concluded thereby, and forbore from going behind such a certificate in any case, the effect was to confuse the public mind, and led many to suppose there really had been a show of tergiversation; whereas, in fact, there was the greatest harmony and consistency throughout.

So now in the case of South Carolina, the same questions almost are considered, and at great length, as in that of Louisiana. They only vary in form. To illustrate: In Louisiana it was said there was no valid election because the law under which it was held was unconstitutional. In South Carolina it is urged there was no valid election because the General Assembly of the State had neglected to provide, as required by the Constitution thereof, for the registration of the people entitled to vote; and that without such registration there could be no legal and valid election. And the decision in the Louisiana case that Congress was not authorized to inquire into the validity of the laws of a